UNITED NATIONS

A

General Assembly

PROVISIONAL

A/47/PV.6
29 September 1992

ENGLISH

Forty-seventh session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 6th MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 22 September 1992, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. GANEV (Bulgaria)

- Address by El Hadj Hassan Gouled Aptidon, President of the Republic of Djibouti
- Address by Mr. Roh Tae Woo, President of the Republic of Korea
- General debate [9] (continued)

  Statement made by

  Mr. Hurd (United Kingdom)
- Programme of work

/...

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the General Assembly.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, Office of Conference Services, room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

92-61197 1224V (E)

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements made by

Mr. Kozyrev (Russian Federation)
Mr. Van Den Broek (Netherlands)

The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

ADDRESS BY EL HADJ HASSAN GOULED APTIDON, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF DJIBOUTI

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Djibouti.

El Hadj Hassan Gouled Aptidon, President of the Republic of Djibouti, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Republic of Djibouti, His Excellency El Hadj Hassan Gouled Aptidon, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President APTIDON (interpretation from French): First of all, let me convey to all members of the General Assembly the greetings of the people of Djibouti.

I should like to take this opportunity to address to you, Mr. President, my warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session. I am convinced that you will guide our deliberations in such a way as to bring them to a successful conclusion, and I wish you every success.

That was the case at last year's session, at which Mr. Samir Shihabi, Ambassador of a great fraternal country, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, presided over the General Asssembly. We are indebted to him for the important achievements in the field of restructuring and revitalizing the United Nations. I should like to express to the former Permanent Representative, who is leaving us, our best wishes for the future.

(President Aptidon)

I should also like to pay a well-deserved tribute to the son of Africa and the Arab world, my brother and friend Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Secretary-General of the United Nations, for the dignified and enlighted way in which, for almost a year, he has been discharging his duties in the Secretariat. I wish to emphasize that my country fully appreciates the efforts Mr. Boutros-Ghali is making to find lasting solutions to the various crises and wars throughout the world, thus promoting peace and international cooperation.

Moreover, in his annual report on the activities of the Organization, the Secretary-General has highlighted the many vital issues before the United Nations ranging from the Organization's financial crisis to its added responsibilities as a result of the changes under way, which are sorely testing the resources available to the Organization.

In this respect, the establishment by the Secretary-General of an advisory group of eminent persons to study and formulate proposals to make the United Nations financially solvent seems to us to be an appropriate and timely initiative.

Lastly, it is with great pleasure that I welcome the States which have joined the United Nations this year.

The end of the cold war has brought important issues into sharp focus, namely, sovereignty, peace-keeping and democracy. National boundaries are fast collapsing and internal civil strife is growing with increasing intensity.

(President Aptidon)

The changing context of the international political landscape and the concomitant flareup of conflicts in many regions of the world are sufficient reason to reflect upon new ways and means to contain the evolving threats to international peace and security. In that regard, the Secretary-General's Agenda for Peace contains ideas and proposals such as the use of preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping and peace-making; it deserves the fullest attention of the General Assembly.

States new and old are ravaged by ethnic and clan rivalries. The United Nations therefore needs the unwavering support of the international community in order to be able to respond urgently, effectively and substantially to these new phenomena of our time. Will the nascent democracies, in their weak and poorly equipped condition, be able to cope with urgent demands for material improvement? And if they cannot deliver, could they not lose popular support? Democracy under relatively favourable conditions is obviously far different both in theory and in practice - indeed, in every respect - from democracy in a country in a vicious circle of dependence, poverty and instability.

The proliferation of political parties in a pluralistic system invariably leads to parties based on ethnicity. Clearly, there must be an alternative framework for these democracies suffering from dire economic conditions and from chronic problems of debt, disease, hunger and poverty. The Speaker of Namibia's National Assembly described the situation forthrightly:

> "We have learned that once you have acquired a constitution and achieved the goal of political independence and freedom, you will find that you cannot eat votes in a ballot box".

(President Aptidon)

In Africa and many countries elsewhere in the developing world, we see pressure being exerted to reduce and disperse national sovereignty. This is a dangerous precedent in the new regional and international order that is emerging. In his address to the summit of non-aligned countries at Jakarta, the Secretary-General forcefully expressed his apprehension, saying that

> "Recent geopolitical changes are characterized by a greater degree of homogeneity in the world, which we welcome as a precious harbinger of concord and unity. Yet neither decolonization nor the dismantling of the blocs has erased the phenomenon of power. Attempts to dominate, either world-wide or regionally, remain. They continue to threaten the weakest and poorest States, which are still the most numerous in the world".

I share the view of the Secretary-General that the new world order must be based on democracy in international relations, and that at the same time each of us, particularly the developing countries, must remain steadfast on the fundamental principles of national sovereignty, non-intervention in the internal affairs of a State, and international cooperation.

In my last address to this Assembly, on 21 September 1977, on the occasion of my country's admission to the United Nations, I described - in addition to the joy we felt on acceding to our freedom - my determination to contribute to adherence to respect for human rights in the Horn of Africa. That ambition was no doubt too lofty, or premature, for since then too many events - often tragic - have occurred; their harmful consequences show no sign of abatement.

(President Aptidon)

We are aware of, and grateful for, the vital and essential role played by the Secretary-General in bringing the question of Somalia squarely before the Security Council, in the signature of the cease-fire agreement concluded in New York between hostile brothers, and in the deployment of United Nations forces to deliver humanitarian assistance.

Thus, to the international community, which has now made a massive response with humanitarian assistance, we convey all our gratitude and our support in this urgent task, which includes the restoration of civil peace and security in Somalia.

(President Aptidon)

The nightmarish sight of children breathing their last in their mothers' emaciated arms, and those equally unbearable images of women and old men who no longer have the strength even to walk or to show the least expression in their faces and whose death is already in their eyes, shocked us as they shocked the whole world. In the name of what might could a whole nation condemn itself to self-destruction? The tragedy in Somalia is not inevitable; that is to say, human stupidity sometimes causes more devastation than natural disasters. While the world has belatedly come to realize the full extent of what is happening today in that country, there is nothing to indicate that this tragedy will not claim more victims - hundreds of thousands of them - in the months to come.

Somalia as we knew it no longer exists. In the absence of national government and central authority, the nation has been plunged into total anarchy. Indeed, it has returned to a state of veritable barbarism.

The differences involved have nothing to do with ideology or politics. It is simply sheer, blind obsession with power. We clearly see the result of the tenacity of the oppressive, tyrannical warlords and clans who have reduced a whole country to rubble.

Somalia, which has never in its history known such a famine or such a disaster, needs all of us to save it from this apocalypse that has descended on its people, victims of the folly and narrow-minded egotism of men. A whole country has been razed, reduced to rubble, by war, drought and famine. It is a wasteland ruled by armed gangs of bandits and looters. Death, human misery and abject poverty are rampant.

Providing humanitarian assistance under such conditions of warfare is extremely dangerous. In Somalia's neighbouring countries, including Djibouti,

(President Aptidon)

the Somali refugees are either in urban centres, straining already-limited and underdeveloped resources, or in camps that are dangerously crowded, facing shortages of food and medical supplies.

Nobody can say with certainty how many people have already died, but at least 1.5 million people, one-third of the population, are threatened with starvation, children, women and old people being especially vulnerable. I can only echo the desperation of a Red Cross official in Baidoa who said, "We are in the middle of the tunnel, and we can't see the light yet."

Our hearts go out to the personnel of the international humanitarian organizations who, despite the dangers, care for, feed and save the lives of the innocent victims of this senseless fratricide.

The question before us today is not only how to save lives through the delivery of sufficient food to end the famine or how to stop the senseless fighting. Rather, in a scenario like that of Somalia, the question is what the United Nations, together with the international community, can devise collectively to reorganize a new nation of Somalia. Let us make a commitment today that we are bound together by the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter not to let any country simply vanish from our midst!

There is another persistent crisis which continues to shock us all, namely, the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The entire world is horrified at the war being waged in that very young republic. For several months now, the country has been facing armed aggression from outside. The efforts made to date by the international community to halt the aggression by Serbia and Montenegro by political and economic means and to settle this crisis peacefully have been in vain. It is, on the contrary, becoming more and more

(President Aptidon)

evident that the Serbian authorities are using this conflict to carry out a policy of "ethnic cleansing".

If peace is to prevail in that region, all the provisions of the agreement reached at the London Conference must be implemented immediately. And if hostilities still continue, we call on the international community to implement all the provisions of the Security Council resolutions concerning recourse to all necessary measures, including military force, to come to the aid of that martyred country.

Djibouti is addressing the Organization today at a time when it is in the process of overcoming a war that has been imposed upon it. It will succeed, thanks to the unfailing attachment of Djiboutians to their homeland and their will to live together in peace; thanks to the support of fraternal and friendly countries, and thanks, lastly, to the continued assistance of the United Nations in defence of our right to sovereignty, independence and peace.

(President Aptidon)

Since its accession to independence, on 27 June 1977, the Republic of Djibouti has had to face not only complex problems of economic and social development, but also - and above all - the negative impact on its precarious socio-economic infrastructure of the constant, destabilizing wars in the region.

Devastation is never confined to the geographical area of one country or one subregion; it extends across frontiers and endangers the stability of neighbouring countries, whose populations are, in most cases, of the same origin.

This is precisely what is happening in Djibouti, whose population is increasing daily as a result of the continual influx of men, women and children with no alternative but to abandon their country for a more hospitable environment. For many months now Djibouti has been playing host to an alarming number of refugees and displaced persons. I therefore feel compelled to look to the future needs of our State, which cannot indefinitely share its meagre resources without risking to the adverse reactions of the community whose interests it has a duty to safeguard.

While we have been struggling through this difficult ordeal the international community, rather than relieving and helping us, has unfortunately perceived the problem only from the purely humanitarian standpoint, thus disregarding the negative consequences for the entire social and economic life of my country.

In response to the egalitarian ideas we have been hearing for many years, which originate from beyond our frontiers, my Government has been constantly engaged in examining all possibilities which might lead to the restoration of peace. It has also pursued a process leading to the

(President Aptidon)

establishment of new institutions, which were put to the judgement of the voters at the beginning of this month.

The response of the people was astonishingly clear. The vote was preceded by a law instituting a general amnesty relating to events during the period characterized by the de facto partition, brought about on the initiative of a negligible portion of the population. They had considerable foreign reinforcements, who came from not very far away, and whose motives, as well as the origin of the resources they received, were not hard to ascertain.

Some may consider that this is only a phase, despite the introduction of a multiparty system and the fixing of dates for the people to choose their representatives at all levels of political life. I believe that I have reason to hope that, with the understanding of friendly countries, the support of international organizations, the good will of our people and the help of the Almighty, our nation can look to a future full of possibilities and with renewed hope.

The serious recent events in South Africa - in particular, the Boipatong massacre on 17 June 1992 and more recently the killing of 28 demonstrators - show the extent to which violence is still the order of the day. The refusal of the South African authorities to control that violence is casting a shadow over the progress made in South Africa's political life and is disrupting the process of peaceful change which the majority of the South African people so earnestly desire.

(President Aptidon)

There is no alternative to negotiations for peaceful change in South Africa. To this end, the international community will have to continue to put pressure on the authorities in Pretoria to take the energetic measures required to contain once and for all the forces opposed to the elimination of apartheid. To do this, they must create a climate of security conducive to the resumption of dialogue for the emergence of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

We welcome the deployment of United Nations observers, who I hope will help to avoid further massacres and to relaunch a constructive dialogue between the Government and the majority of the South African population.

All of our attention has been focused on the initiatives and efforts under way in Washington to promote a credible peace that will lead to a just and comprehensive solution to the Arab-Israeli crisis. In welcoming those developments, Djibouti pays tribute to the Government of the United States of America and to all those contributing to the establishment of a just and lasting peace in that part of the Middle East.

Nevertheless, the following are essential conditions for peaceful coexistence among the peoples of the region; the self-determination of the Palestinian people; a total freeze on settlements; the abandonment of all repressive policies and practices against the population of the occupied territories; and the withdrawal from all the Arab territories occupied since June 1967, including East Jerusalem.

(President Aptidon)

Like all nations of the world, the Arabs want peace. They have demonstrated this desire and proved it time and again through a series of goodwill gestures and indeed through substantial major compromises in the current negotiating framework. This wisdom and this openness of mind have not to date been reciprocated by compatible language. What the Arabs are calling for is comprehensive and genuine talks that fully and seriously address the key issues of peace, land and security. Let us see if Israel will start once and for all to negotiate in good faith. Let us see if it will move in tandem with the propitious international political climate. By continually demanding more security and more concessions while the status quo over territory and peace persists, Israel is simply squandering a precious moment. It is high time that reason prevailed over age-old hatred, acrimony, injustice and obstinacy.

In his annual report on the work of the Organization, the economic situation in the world in general and, in particular, the constant deterioration of the economies of most of the developing countries, the Secretary-General amply illustrates the bleak economic situation that exists in most of the world. Although the responsibility for solving economic problems at the national level rests in the first place with the countries concerned, no national effort, however forceful it may be, can be viably sustained unless it is undertaken within the framework of a responsibility shared with the international community and, even more important, unless it is backed by appropriate arrangements, a favourable environment and effective international assistance.

(President Aptidon)

The task facing the Africans is complex and of considerable scope. It will call for great efforts, indeed sacrifices, on our part. In this respect the new programme for the development of Africa in the 1990s, which is a contract between Africa and its international partners, merits the support of the international community.

I cannot disregard the fact that the impressive changes we have mentioned have taken place against a background of rising levels of poverty among vast sectors of the world's population. Redefining international cooperation for development must consequently be the new priority of the multilateral programme. It is thus essential to define a broader approach to this cooperation, one which pays particular attention to the developing countries in general, and to the least developed countries in particular, with a view to achieving sustainable development.

The adoption of the Rio Declaration, Agenda 21 and the other agreements reached at the historic Rio Conference demonstrates that the international community is prepared to work in partnership for the protection of the environment and the introduction of a development taking into account the economic equilibrium of all. The "Spirit of Rio" has engendered great hopes for the one billion human beings living in extreme deprivation. Now everything depends on the follow-up and implementation of the programmes agreed.

The new mechanisms and practical measures to be negotiated during this session of the General Assembly ought, in our view, to permit access by the developing countries to technology and additional financial resources. We express the hope that the pledges to finance the objectives of Agenda 21 will be commensurate with the task; the credibility of the international community

(President Aptidon)

is at stake. The new commission on sustainable development, soon to be established, will have to provide the necessary infusion of energy and institute bold policies that will enable us to face the attendant challenges.

In conclusion, we in the Republic of Djibouti are confidently awaiting the day when all the peoples of the Horn of Africa will have overcome the spectre of famine and poverty and will live in peace and prosperity.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Djibouti for the statement he has just made.

El Hadj Hassan Gouled Aptidon, President of the Republic of Djibouti, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

ADDRESS BY MR. ROH TAE WOO, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Korea.

Mr. Roh Tae Woo, President of the Republic of Korea, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT On behalf of the General Assembly I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Republic of Korea, His Excellency Mr. Roh Tae Woo, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President ROH (spoke in Korean; English text furnished by the delegation): I should like to extend my congratulations to you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session. I am confident that under your able leadership the Assembly will be highly productive. I pay my respects also to the Secretary-General for his dedicated efforts to promote world peace - the primary objective of this body. His experience and sagacity have so strengthened the Organization that it has been able to meet effectively the new and varied challenges of this rapidly changing world. I take this opportunity to extend a warm welcome to those nations that became Members of the United Nations since the last session of the General Assembly.

Today the world is beginning a new chapter in history. As I stand at this rostrum for the third time since 1988, I cannot but recall the profound and comprehensive transformations the world has undergone over the past four years. The global confrontation over ideologies is rapidly disappearing as dictatorial and authoritarian Governments crumble in succession. Instead, we are witnessing the birth of freedom, equality and respect for human dignity and individual creativity. This epic transformation is neither a victory for any one country nor a triumph of any group of nations; it is a victory for all

(President Roh)

of us living in this historic era. Peace and prosperity are no longer distant dreams; they now stand as realistic goals within our reach, for magnificent and inexorable waves of freedom and openness are sweeping across the world.

Human endeavour towards peace and prosperity continues today. From Eastern Europe to the Cape of Good Hope, and from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific shores, we witness solid progress towards a more harmonious and prosperous world. Not only have the United States and Russia begun all-out reductions of nuclear weapons, but regional disputes too are being resolved, one after another. Through the efforts of the United Nations, the 12 years of internecine strife in El Salvador have ended, and Cambodia is in the process of regaining peace and stability. Today United Nations peace-keeping efforts are becoming more effective everywhere.

However, violence and the illegal use of force persist, even in this age of reconciliation and cooperation. The situation in Iraq, the dispute in South Africa, the famine in Somalia - these and other problems are evidence that before we celebrate the arrival of an age of peace we must marshall greater efforts to prevent undue suffering and misery.

Watching the tragic bloodshed in the former Yugoslavia, I could not but feel that a long and tortuous road remained before we could secure lasting peace in our world. The Republic of Korea extends encouragement and support to the United Nations Protection Force for its courageous activities, under extremely adverse conditions, to maintain peace and provide humanitarian relief and assistance in the former Yugoslav region. We also strongly support the diplomatic efforts of the United Nations and the European Community towards an early resolution of this dispute.

(President Roh)

We are well aware of the many invaluable contributions the United Nations has made in the fields of peace-keeping, refugee relief and related humanitarian causes. I sincerely hope that the tragic situation in that region will be resolved quickly and that the role of the United Nations will be further strengthened.

Today the world is becoming a larger whole capable of transcending confrontations and rivalries. A new world order is emerging on the basis of law and morality rather than in terms of power. The United Nations has worked for half a century, and the time is now opportune, to foster harmony and cooperation between nations. We must seize this moment to forge a new international order so that a permanent peace structure may be secured. The United Nations should play a central role in our efforts to attain this cherished goal, because this body is the one just arbiter and the forum where disputes may be resolved through dialogue and compromise.

Speaking from this rostrum last year, I emphasized that the United Nations should redouble its efforts to prevent regional disputes and to strengthen further the collective security measures to prevent the illegal use of force. For these reasons I believe that the "Agenda for Peace" recently submitted by the Secretary-General is very timely and meaningful in promoting our common cause. This Agenda is a very forward-looking and substantive proposition, which will definitely strengthen the role of the United Nations in all areas of world peace and security, including preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building. I sincerely hope that the members of this body - at the General Assembly during the course of this session and in related organs - will seriously consider the proposals contained in the Agenda so that consensus may emerge within the international

(President Roh)

community. The Republic of Korea will faithfully and actively participate in all United Nations endeavours to maintain world peace and security and to safeguard the future of mankind.

A new international order demands a new concept of international security. The era in which security was based on military power and on weapons of mass destruction has passed. Recently the United States and Russia agreed to destroy all ground-launched ballistic missiles within the next 10 years and to reduce drastically the number of nuclear warheads.

(President Roh)

I wholeheartedly welcome this decision and hope that it will serve as the impetus for accelerated reduction of nuclear arsenals throughout the world. Today one of the most destabilizing trends in the field of international security is the rapid spread of nuclear and sophisticated conventional weapons to existing areas of dispute and potential regions of conflict.

My Government places great importance on the nuclear non-proliferation Treaty and fully endorses the strengthening of the proposed nuclear safeguard measures by the International Atomic Energy Agency. Furthermore, we will wholeheartedly support the extension of the Treaty in 1995.

My Government welcomes the draft Convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons, which the Geneva Conference on Disarmament successfully negotiated. I hope Member States will unanimously approve this important treaty at this session; my Government will accede to the Convention without delay.

As the Secretary-General pointed out in his report, we face a number of critical challenges, such as the eradication of starvation and world poverty, the plight of refugees, respect for human rights and the protection of the environment.

Emancipation from the yoke of poverty and underdevelopment is an urgent issue that we must resolve for the lasting peace and prosperity of mankind. We can speak of peace and prosperity only after we successfully eliminate such fundamental threats to human life as poverty, hunger, disease and underdevelopment. To the starved and wretched, justice sounds hollow. To the sick and disaffected, peace is meaningless.

Just as ardent aspirations to freedom and prosperity ended the cold war, we must now combine our efforts to eradicate poverty and underdevelopment.

(President Roh)

Today, although the East-West confrontation has ended, the gap between North and South is widening by the day. What is most needed to mitigate this disparity is a concerted effort between the advanced and developing countries. For their part, developing countries should concentrate greater efforts on economic development and the improvement of their standards of living. In efforts to eliminate poverty from underdeveloped regions and to improve living standards there, advanced countries should provide succour in the forms of economic aid, investment and the transfer of technology on an active and continuing basis.

We can surmount these challenges if we all agree that there is but one world community, of which all of us are a part.

The Korean people inherited generations of chronic poverty. What little remained on their land was reduced to ashes in the course of the Korean War, the most violent conflagration of the post-war period. Rising from the destruction of war, we have built within a generation an economy that ranks among the dozen largest trading nations in the world. Our country is not endowed with rich natural resources, and we have carried a heavy defence burden. We stand prepared to share this experience with the developing world and those countries under fundamental reforms.

We distinctly remember the miseries of poverty and underdevelopment and the generous assistance and cooperation we received from advanced countries. We will act as a bridge between North and South by sharing information and know-how and by promoting exchange and cooperation. Korea will actively participate in, and make contributions commensurate with its ability to, the effective resolution of the North-South problem.

(President Roh)

The natural environment is not ours to abuse. It not only represents our past, but also foreshadows our future. The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development last June will be recognized as a new beginning in the preservation of our environment. Having reconfirmed the fact that our Planet Earth is the very source of life not only for our generation but for posterity as well, the world community agreed on a plan of action to protect our environment at the global level.

I sincerely hope that all countries will take the necessary steps domestically and cooperate in implementing measures internationally in the spirit of the Rio Declaration and the Rio Conference.

Environmental preservation and economic development should no longer be treated as mutually exclusive goals, but as complementary objectives. However, it would not be fair to impose unreasonable environmental restrictions on those developing countries that began industrialization belatedly due to chronic poverty, underdevelopment and the lack of sufficient resources. A new path toward a century of peace and prosperity should not be designed at the expense of the developing world.

Environmental protection has now become a national objective of my country. Last June Korea adopted for the first time a National Charter for the Environment, and we set up a special intragovernmental coordinating body to oversee environmental policy implementation.

The United Nations is a most effective organization for solving such global issues as environmental protection. Korea will actively participate and undertake appropriate roles in all United Nations efforts toward this end.

Systematic human-rights violations persist even as the waves of freedom and the rights of individuals sweep across the world. The violation of

(President Roh)

fundamental human rights cannot be justified under any pretext. The protection of these rights is our collective responsibility. International relief and assistance efforts should be strengthened to protect refugees from war and internecine strife as well as from poverty.

The protection of minorities is a human-rights issue directly linked not only to the stability of the countries concerned, but also to world peace. Consequently, all Member States must observe their obligations faithfully.

The Republic of Korea extends full support to the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights. I hope it will serve as a momentous occasion for strengthening an international system for the protection of human rights.

The winds of reconciliation and cooperation that swept across the Eurasian continent are now blowing over North-East Asia. I am pleased to report that the Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China normalized relations last month. As a result, the cold-war rigidities that kept North-East Asia frozen for the past 47 years have finally begun to melt away. This is a significant step towards alleviating the agony of the tragic fratricidal war in Korea. The vigorous pursuit of a Northern Policy to bring lasting peace to the Korean peninsula has returned a favorable response.

During the past four and a half years Korea established diplomatic relations with 39 countries, for a total of 165 countries. Diplomatic relations between Korea and China and my official visit to Beijing next week are expected to contribute to reduced tensions on the Korean peninsula and to peace-making efforts in North-East Asia. North-East Asia has thus begun the march towards a new era of lasting peace and common prosperity.

Speaking to the Assembly from this very rostrum four years ago, I mentioned the desirability of a consultative conference for peace in

(President Roh)

North-East Asia. I note that many hurdles still stand in the way of the realization of such a proposal. Times are changing, however. Depending on our determination, we can turn such ideas into reality.

In the highly sensitive region of North-East Asia, which has seen five major wars in the past 100 years, efforts to build a structure of lasting peace are very desirable for both regional stability and world peace. Therefore, I hope an opportunity for dialogue between all interested parties will be found for the purposes of building trust and promoting mutual understanding, confidence and common prosperity.

Once mutual understanding and a forum of cooperation are established, I believe that we can realistically expect the emergence of a new order of peace in North-East Asia.

(President Roh)

Two years ago dialogue between the Prime Ministers of the two Koreas was initiated. Thus far, eight rounds of meetings have been held alternately in Seoul and Pyongyang, and a number of issues have been discussed. Late last year, the two Koreas adopted an "Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-aggression, and Exchanges and Cooperation between the South and the North" and a "Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula." Both documents came into effect in February of this year.

We were filled with a sense of anticipation. For an ethnically homogeneous people that has spent the past 47 years in confrontation, this was a dramatic achievement. However, we have yet to see the implementation of the specific measures agreed upon by the two sides. The reality on the Korean Peninsula is that humanitarian projects, including the exchange of visits by separated family members, remain unrealized. The terms of the "Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula" called for the two Koreas to conduct mutual nuclear inspections by last June. But this measure also has yet to be carried out.

I must point out that mutual nuclear inspections are the most serious obstacle on the path towards further progress in inter-Korean relations. North Korea's suspected nuclear development is casting dark clouds over the future of the Korean Peninsula. It is becoming a new factor threatening peace in North-East Asia and the world at large.

As members are well aware, reconciliation, cooperation, openness and the creation of a new order of peace are clearly the current global trends. I sincerely hope that North Korea will be able to improve its relations with other countries. Participation in all regional cooperative bodies and a

(President Roh)

partnership with their southern brethren towards a new order of peace and common prosperity are what all my countrymen wish for North Korea.

Where there is suspicion, however, there can hardly be true friendship. As a Member of the United Nations, North Korea is responsible for allaying all suspicions surrounding its nuclear development and thereby being accepted by the community of nations. At this very hour some 1.7 million heavily armed soldiers stand alert along a line dividing the Korean Peninsula. I find it difficult to explain why brothers should aim rifles at each other day and night in an atmosphere of anxiety and tension. But I have faith - faith that our people will be reunited.

The 47 painful years we have lived apart is but a brief moment for a people that has lived together as one nation for over five millennia. We will not be impetuous, nor will we be frustrated. With patience, we will continue to foster dialogue, exchange, and cooperation with North Korea. On our own, we can and will open a wide avenue of exchange and join hands in cooperation. And in the near future we should recover mutual trust on the basis of our common heritage and achieve the historic task of peaceful reunification.

The Korean people is confident that it has transformed yesterday's despair into tomorrow's hope. In this endeavour we acknowledge the friendly support and cooperation offered by the United Nations and the international community, for which we shall be forever grateful. If Korea has achieved any miracle in recent years, that miracle belongs not only to the Korean people, but also to the community of nations represented in this Hall. This experience has nurtured our confidence that we can meet the challenges ahead.

The task now before the Korean people is peaceful national unification. Recent history dictates that freedom and independence await the subjugated and

(President Roh)

that reunification awaits the divided. Only when the last scar of the cold war - that which divides the Korean peninsula - disappears from the map will the world be able to close the historic chapter of the cold-war era.

Last year I concluded my address with the following commitment:

"Henceforth, the Republic of Korea will play a leading role in building a world that will be a blessing to our posterity - a world that will be freer, safer and happier; above all, a world of peace." (A/46/PV.6, pp. 39-40)

Today I reconfirm my resolve. Just as the divided Korean Peninsula was a focal point of tension and confrontation in North-East Asia, a unified Korea will serve as a fountainhead of peace and prosperity for that region.

Today we have a most propitious opportunity to realize the founding ideals of the United Nations envisaged half a century ago. What is needed is a united will to cooperate and make the necessary sacrifices. This is posterity's demand upon our generation and history's command to our era. To build a more peaceful and prosperous twenty-first century is to realize the ideals of the United Nations and the security and well-being of all mankind.

As I leave this rostrum, I foresee that a reunified Korea will usher in a peaceful and prosperous twenty-first century and that, when the first Head of State of a unified Korea finally stands before the General Assembly, its members will join as one with the Korean people in applauding that momentous occasion.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Korea for the important statement he has just made.

Mr. Roh Tae Woo, President of the Republic of Korea, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

The PRESIDENT: I should like to remind representatives that, in accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 3rd plenary meeting, the list of speakers will be closed tomorrow at 6 p.m.

Mr. HURD (United Kingdom): I am privileged to speak this morning on behalf of the European Community and its 12 member States. It is a pleasure to do so under your guidance, Mr. President - under the guidance of a fellow European Foreign Minister whose country has made such great progress in recent years and whose foreign affairs, under your leadership, have also made a very substantial step forward.

It is also a pleasure to speak in the presence of the Secretary-General. I do not wish to heap compliments upon you at this stage, Mr. Secretary-General, but I hope that the contents of what I have to say and what we offer you in terms of support for your practical policies you will accept as an adequate compliment.

As my colleagues from other regions of the world have no doubt noticed, we in the European Community are conducting a lively discussion on how to achieve the ever closer union to which we are all committed. I am not going to speak about that subject today because I want to speak about Europe and the wider world, but I do want to emphasize on behalf of us all that so far from turning away from that wider world, we in Europe are increasingly active in it. And I want to make it clear that the European Community and its member States are determined to build up the place and the role of the Community and its 12 member States in world affairs. We intend to work together for the better world order in which we all believe and we intend to carry that work forward with greater impetus and greater effectiveness.

(Mr. Hurd, United Kingdom)

Two years ago, when I first came to speak at the Assembly, the world was celebrating the end of the cold war, the beginnings of freedom. Everyone was optimistic, because everything had changed - it appeared for the better - since I had first attended a session of the General Assembly, at the height of the cold war back in the 1950s.

At the end of 1992 we see things differently. The world after the cold war is a better place, but it is also less stable. We have seen both a democratic spring and a demagogic spring, an outpouring of hope but also, in places, an outpouring of hate.

International order is threatened in the short term by the unleashing of extreme nationalism, of challenges to the rule of law. In the medium term we have to reinforce the system of collective security based on the United Nations. Respect for good government, respect for human rights must move to the centre of our stage. In the long term we face the threat to international peace and security posed by poverty, posed by environmental degradation. We cannot afford to postpone action on the longer-term problems while we wrestle with the short-term problems. I should to look, very briefly, at each of these three challenges in turn.

The short term - the immediate. Nationalism, of course, is not a fault in itself; it is a natural instinct of man in society. We see its benign manifestations in many places - in the former Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, though even there, there are problems. Yugoslavia is the worst example of the bitterness of nationalism producing intolerable results. That is why both Europe and the United Nations have to work strenuously for peace with justice, for the relief of suffering in those tortured lands of the former Yugoslavia.

(Mr. Hurd, United Kingdom)

Since last autumn the European Community and the United Nations have indeed been working closely, the United Nations leading on peace-keeping and the European Community on peace making through Lord Carrington's Peace Conference. This cooperation has helped stop the killing in, for example, the Serb Krajina in Croatia, where the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and the European Community monitoring mission have achieved a good result.

As conflict escalated, particularly in Bosnia, the United Nations and the European Community decided with wide international support to harness their efforts more closely together through the process launched by the London Conference last month. The International Conference on the former Yugoslavia is now working in Geneva under the co-chairmanship of Mr. Cyrus Vance for the United Nations and Lord Owen for the European Community. It is powered by the determination of the international community to bring an end to the violence in the former Yugoslavia.

The Conference has two main objectives: humanitarian and political; to alleviate the suffering of the victims of the conflict and to bring that conflict permanently to an end by negotiating a political settlement. This is, of course, difficult work, requiring a deep understanding of the problems, requiring the respect and cooperation of the parties, requiring the unstinting support and, when necessary, the mobilizing of pressures from the international community.

In this context, I believe that Prime Minister Panic's new approach shows great courage and I salute that courage. It offers a different way forward which we believe should be supported. But while the killing and suffering continue, as they did yesterday and as they do today, we cannot relax our efforts. We have to measure progress by deeds and not promises.

(Mr. Hurd, United Kingdom)

We have to continue to deal with other problems left by the rolling back of the cold war. In Cambodia, we must not let the peace process drift. The Khmer Rouge have not joined phase II of the cease-fire arrangements. They are delaying the implementation of the comprehensive political settlement. On the positive side, the military deployment of the United Nations TransitionaL Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) is now fully complete and the civilian component is beginning to take control of the key ministries. We have to make every effort to hold to the timetable for elections next April.

Some States still show a willingness to challenge the rule of international law and, indeed, to resort to terrorism. The invasion of Kuwait by Iraq was the first test of the post-cold-war era, and the liberation of Kuwait was one of this Organization's great successes. Unfortunately, we have to note that Saddam Hussein continues to defy the United Nations, that his Government is failing to meet Iraq's obligations under Security Council resolution 687 (1991), that he continues to repress his own population, particularly in northern and in southern Iraq. That is why pressure must - and will - continue until he implements the resolutions of the United Nations in full. The message has to be that all States must comply with Security Council resolutions. We still wait for Libya to implement Security Council resolution 731 (1992).

Those are just some of the short-term challenges that we have to meet. There are long-running problems which we must not forget, and one of particular concern to the European Community is Cyprus. This year, Mr. Secretary-General, you have made an energetic effort. It is not yet decisively successful. You are renewing the effort next month. There is a

(Mr. Hurd, United Kingdom)

need for fresh impetus, it seems to us, on the key issues of territory and displaced persons. There must be a willingness to negotiate on all sides; otherwise there will be no lasting settlement.

(Mr. Hurd, United Kingdom)

You have our full support, Mr. Secretary-General, as you renew your effort. Not only does it deserve to succeed, but it is in the crucial interest of Europe and the international community that it should succeed.

In the medium term we have to build a stronger system of collective security. And here, everybody looks, rightly, to the United Nations. But as the Secretary-General has pointed out, we are in danger of loading the Organization with too heavy a burden: a burden of intervention and a burden, in effect, of partial administration.

"Something must be done." That phrase is on many lips; it is the impulse which we all feel as we read about or as we watch on television screens some fresh evidence of man's inhumanity to man. But we have to realize where that impulse, that phrase "Something must be done", leads us. We should not wander down that road without serious thought because it would involve a restructuring of armed forces so that they could take a full part in the growing number of peace-making and peace-keeping exercises of the United Nations. It would mean a massive increase in the funds which the United Nations and its humanitarian agencies would require from Member States - from us: from all of us - in regular contributions and in aid, in times when many Member States face severe budgetary problems. These are just two of the implications of the course on which the world is beginning to propel the United Nations because "something must be done".

How do we prevent these demands from getting out of hand? The best way, of course, is to prevent those conflicts which give rise to the demands - in short, diplomacy: preventive diplomacy. I know that diplomacy is unfashionable in the world of the kneejerk reaction and the dogmatic sound-bite on television. Diplomacy lacks news value; it lacks glamour; it

(Mr. Hurd, United Kingdom)

involves compromise; it takes time; it is easy to mock. It just happens to be indispensable.

That is true, to take one example of many one could take, of conflicts in the Middle East. There the parties have from time to time tried to cut the knot; they have tried to resolve their disputes by force, but in vain. This is a critical moment in the Arab-Israel peace process, which we in Europe strongly support. We in the Community know that all concerned must seize this opportunity; the tide must be caught. The negotiation of a final settlement based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) will take time yet, will take hard work yet. What is important in the immediate future is for all parties to work towards visible progress, building step on agreed step.

Diplomacy is partly a matter of institutions and strengthening them. Speaking as a European on behalf of Europeans, I hope that one day the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) will be effective in the prevention of conflict throughout Europe. With the adoption of the Helsinki document the CSCE has begun to give itself the tools to tackle problems by conciliation before they slide into violence, and to manage crises once they develop. That document shows that the CSCE is a regional arrangement according to Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. That makes a crucial link between European and global security.

But of course the United Nations is the centre of this thinking, and reform of the United Nations is crucial to its performance. Early this year the Secretary-General made a determined start on administrative reform. I believe that will turn out to be a decisive step. This is being followed up both in the Secretariat and in the vast superstructure of intergovernmental bodies which have grown up over the past 40 years in the economic, social and other fields.

(Mr. Hurd, United Kingdom)

We welcome the work of the General Assembly - to which I know that you personally, Mr. President, are devoted - to rationalize its agenda. All this is welcome; all this has to be carried forward.

A summit of the Security Council met last January at the initiative of my Prime Minister to consider next steps. We asked the Secretary-General to prepare a report on the ways in which the United Nations could help tackle the new challenges of which I have spoken. On 17 June, you, Mr. Secretary-General, published your ideas on preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping, peace-making and what you called peace-building. This collection of ideas is going to turn out to be a turning-point in the history of our Organization. You tried to address a need which is not some distance ahead, but which is here and now. I believe you are in the extraordinary position of someone who is being asked to manufacture a vehicle while he is driving that vehicle on the road. It is not easy, but it is necessary.

The general debate should be a genuine debate on the ideas advanced in the report. All United Nations bodies, notably the Security Council and the General Assembly, should follow up swiftly in the light of the debate.

Preventive diplomacy I have already mentioned. Obviously, it is quicker. It is more helpful to peoples about to be embroiled in conflict than even the most successful peace-keeping operation which comes after the outbreak of violence. It is also less costly in terms of lives and in terms of cash. The Secretary-General should be ready to make full use of his powers under Article 99 of the Charter to draw the attention of the Security Council to any matter which in his opinion may threaten international peace and security. Greater use is already being made of fact-finding missions; we would like to encourage this trend.

(Mr. Hurd, United Kingdom)

Preventive deployment of troops might take place to deter aggression or conflict between States, possibly involving deployment to only one side of an international border. Of course there may be difficulties about timing the dispatch of such a force in a given crisis, but we believe this is essentially a sound idea that could be applied case by case.

I warmly welcome what President Bush said yesterday on his initiatives to strengthen the peace-keeping work of the United Nations.

In the European Community we want to follow up the idea of preventive deployment in the event of an internal crisis, where the Government concerned requests help, with humanitarian assistance or conciliation. No two cases would be the same. There would need to be careful discussions with Governments and the parties concerned before the international community could usefully deploy monitors.

Recognizing that, the European Community and its member States have already decided in principle to send civilian monitoring missions to States which want them where this could avert a crisis and possible bloodshed. In South Africa, for example, with the agreement of all the parties, established during a recent visit of the troika, the United Nations will be joined by the European Community and by the Commonwealth in sending observers to reinforce the national peace accords there.

Of course, part of this prevention of conflict must involve prevention of the proliferation of armaments, especially weapons of mass destruction. We welcome the agreement on a global convention on chemical weapons. This is a step towards a safer and more secure world.

(Mr. Hurd, United Kingdom)

We recognize that peace-making brings pain to some. Bringing pressure - even peaceful pressure, say, of sanctions - on warring parties, means sacrifice for innocent third parties. We understand the economic difficulties often caused to third parties by the imposition of sanctions under Chapter VII. Countries which need balance-of-payments help, countries which may also at the same time be carrying out prudent adjustment programmes, can be badly affected. The international financial organizations are in the best position to assess and then take into account the effects of United Nations mandatory sanctions when they design support packages for the countries concerned.

(Mr. Hurd, United Kingdom)

The Secretary-General's report contains a number of proposals for Member States to earmark forces for enforcement action and for peace-keeping. All 12 States members of the European Community have responded to his questionnaire on this and all Members of the United Nations should, we believe, keep it under regular review.

Then there is money, financial contributions. The Secretary-General rightly, continuously underlines the importance of financial as well as military contributions to peace-keeping. The figures speak for themselves. The 12 States members of the European Community are supposed, under the rules, to contribute one third of the cost of peace-keeping operations financed through assessed contributions. At the end of August we, the Twelve, had in fact given not 33 per cent but over 40 per cent of total contributions actually collected so far for the various new operations launched or expanded since the end of the last session of the General Assembly. Those European Community member States, of which mine is one, joining in the new operation in Bosnia, will bear all their own costs. We believe we are doing our bit so far as this is concerned in Europe, and look to others to do the same. The Secretary-General is quite right: the financial problems of the United Nations must not be allowed to slide, must not be allowed to fester. We support the proposed peace-keeping reserve fund, subject to negotiation on the detail, and we believe the General Assembly must follow this up.

The role of the United Nations does not stop once a conflict is over. That is why the Secretary-General's study entitled "An Agenda for Peace" rightly looks at how we can build peace after a conflict. Take El Salvador, an illustration that has already been used by His Excellency the President of the Republic of Korea. The promotion of free elections and democratic

(Mr. Hurd, United Kingdom)

institutions is a key part of such peace-building, and so, to take a very different example, is de-mining. Is it not a sad commentary on the state of the world that the removal of mines in the aftermath of conflict has to be high on our agenda, whether in Cambodia, northern Somalia or Angola?

But we of the European Community welcome the emphasis the Secretary-General gives to human rights, democracy and development. Perhaps during the cold war some of us tended to concentrate exclusively, or almost exclusively, on abuses of human rights in the Soviet bloc. Elsewhere there was lip-service when there should have been action. But all people are entitled to full human rights. We want the World Conference on Human Rights at Vienna in June 1993 to take real steps in that direction.

We warmly welcome as part of that effort what we see as the tide of political reform now flowing in the continent of Africa. We are helping to promote good government and sound human rights and electoral practices. Both at the national and the Community level, we have already shown that we are ready to meet requests for help in election monitoring, notably in Ethiopia, the Congo and, later this year, in Kenya and Ghana, and also in the inter-parliamentary work going on in Namibia.

But of course in the longer term collective security can be undermined by deeper economic and social forces, such as poverty and environmental degradation. Relief must be followed by recovery or else the countries afflicted will be overwhelmed by despair. Is that not what we see in Somalia? This appalling tragedy is a warning of what could happen elsewhere, of what could become widespread, because Somalia is just the most extreme form of a problem now affecting large parts of sub-Saharan Africa.

(Mr. Hurd, United Kingdom)

I say this all the more strongly because at the beginning of this month I led a European Community Troika visit to Mogadishu. What we saw there is what many colleagues have spoken of, and I echo their voices. We saw the disintegration of a society. We marked the absence of all legitimate authority. We witnessed the collapse of a State and of all services connected with a State. Instead of order, instead of law, teenage gangsters roam the streets, toting their Kalashnikovs and offering protection at a price. Instead of a distribution system, whether capitalist or socialist, there is blackmail and looting.

Against that background we saw the new humanitarian relief arrangements being put into place by Mr. Eliasson and many other devoted people. We saw how the United Nations has to work naturally, intimately and without rivalry with non-governmental organizations. We saw how urgently the Somalis need a reconstruction of civil authority. We fully support Ambassador Sahnoun's efforts in Mogadishu, in Somalia. He is an outstanding civil servant on behalf of us all. Last month the Security Council rightly voted to strengthen the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) so that its security units will be better able to distribute aid. Among the States Members of the European Community, Belgium, with the support of all of us, plans a substantial contribution to that security.

Of course not all disasters are man-made, though it looks as if an increasing proportion are. There is the drought in the Horn of Africa and southern Africa, which will require a major international effort over the coming year.

For the first time, over the last two or three years, the environment has become a priority for all countries. I have to say that the road from Rio de

(Mr. Hurd, United Kingdom)

Janeiro may be harder than to the road to it. The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio attracted the world's leaders, the world's media and the world's imagination. But sustainable development has to stay at the top of the international agenda. That is why, immediately after his return from Rio de Janeiro, Prime Minister Major proposed an eight-point follow-up plan picking up the key elements agreed upon at Rio de Janeiro. That initiative was broadly endorsed at our European Council in Lisbon and at the Economic Summit in Munich.

The Sustainable Development Commission, which is to be set up by the General Assembly, will be crucial to the follow-up. The Assembly must create an effective instrument to ensure that the impetus built up at Rio is not dissipated and lost.

To conclude, for the medium and long term we need to turn hope into reality. In the short term, time after time, in place after place, we must bring hope to what is already a grim reality. The legacy of the cold war is a mixed one. In facing it, the international community must be realistic, because history cannot be denied, cannot be uprooted. The solving of problems which have their roots deep in the centuries is a slow, frustrating business.

After the brief gleam of optimism in 1989 and 1990, when all seemed easy, we are now more realistic. Progress towards a more decent, orderly world will never be without effort. Our best hope is to take two steps forward for each step back. Even that imperfect progress will require the rapid strengthening of our institutions and in particular of the family of institutions called the United Nations - not essentially by more conferences and more speeches, but by the practical effort which the United Nations, under the guidance of the

(Mr. Hurd, United Kingdom)

Secretary-General, mounts today in Somalia, Yugoslavia, Cambodia and countless other troubled places.

The trucks of our agencies, painted white, and the blue berets of our United Nations contingents do not bring magic or instant happiness, but they bring a glimmer of hope where till then there may have been despair. In the effort of bringing hope, in the short term and in the longer term, the European Community and its member States will take a persistent, energetic and worthy part.

PROGRAMME OF WORK

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the possible scenario for agenda item 8, to be considered this evening immediately following the general debate. The general debate is expected to end at around 8.30 this evening - that is, if the length of speeches is what delegations have indicated to the Secretariat.

Immediately afterwards we shall take up agenda item 8. The draft resolution will be introduced, and we shall proceed to hear the speakers inscribed on the list. Thus far, three speakers have inscribed their names on the list of speakers, in addition to the member State introducing the draft resolution.

The Assembly can then act on the draft resolution, hearing explanations of vote, if any, before and after the vote.

I hope this outline is helpful for delegations to plan their work.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. KOZYREV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): First, I wish to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election to this important post. The fact that a representative of Bulgaria has assumed this post at the head of the Assembly at precisely this time is a sign of the importance that the world community attaches to the peaceful democratic revolution in Eastern Europe. And we are proud that our countries, linked by ties of traditional friendship, are treading this path together.

The democratic movement has prevailed in the cold war. For the first time in history unprecedented opportunities have opened up for the implementation of the principles proclaimed by the United Nations.

(Mr. Kozyrev, Russian Federation)

The post-confrontational and post-communist world is not a pax Sovietica, a pax Americana, a pax Islamica or a pax Christiana, nor is it a monopolistic system of any kind, but rather the multipolar unity in diversity that the United Nations has symbolized from the very outset.

For the present, such a world is only a possibility yet to be realized through our joint efforts. Realism leaves no room for euphoria. A difficult period of transition lies ahead. But realism compels us to reject any alternative to the democratic choice.

Russia, which has rejected communism, has, perhaps more than any other country, learned from its own experience that there can be no alternative to democratic development; our country voted for democracy during the first nation-wide presidential election in its history, and defended it at the barricades around the Moscow White House. Neither the President, nor the Government, nor the majority of Parliament, nor the country at large will turn aside from the path of reform, no matter how difficult it may prove.

Totalitarianism robbed Russia both of its unique identity and of the possibility of self-fulfilment in its relations with other nations. Through its self-imposed isolation, the richest country of Eurasia became the sick man of Europe and Asia. In contrast, only an open society and a policy of openness will enable Russia to find and play to the fullest extent its unique and historic role.

This policy has its roots in an age-old Russian idea. Back in the thirteenth century Saint Alexander Nevsky, one of the founders and defenders of the Russian State, said: "God is to be found not in power but in truth".

(Mr. Kozyrev, Russian Federation)

Today this is the policy of the true national interests of the Russian State as a normal rather than an aggressive great Power, as one that recognizes and shoulders its responsibilities as a permanent member of the Security Council.

The basic elements of this policy are as follows: partnership and alliance for democracy and a dynamic market economy with countries that share these values; good-neighbourly relations with all neighbouring States; comprehensive strengthening of the Commonwealth of Independent States, strategic partnership with Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and all other countries created in the place of the former Soviet Union; and solidarity and mutually advantageous cooperation with all the members of the world community.

Russia intends to act in support of United Nations efforts to address the twofold task of the democratization of societies and the renewal of international relations. This is consonant with the concluding statement of the summit meeting of the Security Council, with Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's report "An Agenda for Peace" and with the first statements already made from this rostrum. Russia is ready to give practical support to the proposals made yesterday by George Bush, President of the United States.

First of all, it is necessary to extinguish armed conflicts.

The Russian Federation will increase its efforts to eliminate conflicts inherited from the past in the territory of the former USSR, bearing in mind the special interest and responsibility of Russia in strengthening the civilized principles of the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in this part of the world.

(Mr. Kozyrev, Russian Federation)

Russia supports the participation of the new independent States in these two organizations and other international forums. We welcome their representatives in this Hall.

We categorically reject imperialistic ambitions, diktat and violence, both in the area of the former USSR and in other parts of the world. Should political means fail, force can and should be used to separate the warring sides, to protect human rights and humanitarian missions and to restore peace in strict conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

Agreements for cease-fires and for the establishment of peace-keeping forces, concluded with Russian participation, are already in effect in Ossetia, the Dniester region and Abkhazia, where Russian soldiers are carrying out their peace-keeping duties. Together with CSCE, we will strive to end the war and bring peace to Karabakh and to secure the integrity of Tajikistan and bring national reconciliation to that country. In all those efforts we count on continued active cooperation with the United Nations.

We support efforts aimed at forcing Iraq to implement the decisions of the United Nations and ensuring at the same time the territorial integrity and the peaceful nature of that State. For that purpose, Russia has sent two naval vessels to the Persian Gulf.

We also must ensure that the demands of the Security Council are complied with by all the Yugoslav sides and must enable them to maintain contact with the United Nations. A Russian infantry battalion is serving honourably with the United Nations forces in Yugoslavia.

I agree with the preceding speaker concerning the need to support the efforts of Mr. Panic for the practical implementation of the intentions he has declared.

(Mr. Kozyrev, Russian Federation)

Russia will continue to cooperate actively with the other permanent members of the Security Council and with all the parties concerned in order to seize the opportunity for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East, Cambodia, Angola and other areas of conflict.

We have no doubt that it is the task of the United Nations to combat violence with force based on law, with its potential for enforcing peace. The Blue Helmets should take action in response even when they are fired upon.

It is time to strengthen the capacity of the Security Council to take swift and decisive action in humanitarian emergency situations arising from mass violations of human rights and inter-ethnic clashes, including those within national borders.

(Mr. Kozyrev,
Russian Federation)

It is important to strengthen the preventive component of United Nations activities. This includes the establishment of hot lines to United Nations Headquarters, the submission of intelligence information to the Secretary-General and the further development of fact-finding.

Enhanced United Nations efforts to safeguard human rights and the rights of national minorities are also a priority. In the past it was chiefly the victims of totalitarian regimes and ideologies who needed protection. What is increasingly needed now is to combat the aggressive nationalism that is emerging as the new global threat.

The replacement of ideological intolerance with national and religious intolerance would threaten the world - which is increasingly becoming one world - with rifts just as serious and with national, regional and global catastrophes. Democratic Russia categorically rejects any form of chauvinism, be it Russophobia or anti-Semitism.

We feel special concern at the growing discriminatory practices against Russians, Ukrainians, Jews and all other non-indigenous nationalities in some of the new States that have emerged in the territory of the former USSR, particularly in Estonia and Latvia. A situation in which 42 per cent of the population of the Estonian Republic are disenfranchised is totally inconsistent with international law.

We have raised and will continue to raise these issues in the United Nations and other forums. We have the right to do so, among other reasons, because the countries in question won their independence, to a substantial extent, through the triumph of the democrats in Russia. The practices I have referred to can in no way be justified by invoking the problem, inherited from the USSR, of the withdrawal of armed forces from the Baltic States. We are

(Mr. Kozyrev,
Russian Federation)

already working together to resolve that problem, and we intend to resolve it as soon as possible; however, due regard must also be given to the rights of those who are in military uniform.

It would be appropriate to give thought to a joint interpretation of the international trusteeship system set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, particularly since one of its basic objectives is - and I quote the Charter - "To encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion". That system has brought many nations to independence. Today national minorities desperately need the trusteeship of the world community.

The fate of former Soviet servicemen taken prisoner in Afghanistan remains one of the gravest humanitarian problems. We call upon the General Assembly to proclaim its support for the urgent resolution of this problem.

The rejection of the game of "nuclear roulette" in favour of cooperation in the interests of strategic stability for all and with the participation of all States concerned is reflected in the agreements on further drastic cuts in strategic offensive arms and on a global defense system reached in Washington by the Presidents of Russia and the United States of America.

Reaffirming its commitments under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the Russian Federation invites all countries that have not yet done so to join the Treaty as non-nuclear-weapon States. It is our belief that all the former Republics of the USSR, including Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan, will do so. This step should be taken as soon as possible, since the entry into force of the treaty on strategic offensive arms depends on it.

(Mr. Kozyrev,
Russian Federation)

We expect that a sense of high responsibility and a readiness to reach compromise solutions will prevail in the decisive phase of the approval of the Convention on the banning of chemical weapons.

Russia is in favour of control, including control through the United Nations, over international arms transfers, especially over offensive and highly destructive weapons. The approach taken with respect to regimes that disregard the standards of international law should be particularly strict.

There is an obvious need for the development of concrete military-industry conversion programmes, not only through the efforts of individual countries but also through the combined action of the international community. The United Nations and its specialized agencies could play a pioneering role in this endeavour. In the long run, real disarmament and the conversion of military industries to peaceful production will make it possible to release additional resources for the needs of development.

But development cannot be achieved without ensuring full political and economic rights and freedoms, without releasing human creative potential in a market environment. Russia has learned this from its own experience.

For a successful solution of the problems of development, it is extremely important to strengthen the interaction between the United Nations and the Bretton Woods institutions. Herein lies the key to the harmonization of the world community's efforts in such areas as support of macroeconomic reforms and technical assistance and the provision of help in resolving social problems. Both developing and developed countries will benefit from this.

The United Nations Conference at Rio de Janeiro reinforced the consensus on the need to integrate development policies and environmental protection.

(Mr. Kozyrev,
Russian Federation)

The task of renewing international relations calls for the rationalization of the United Nations itself and of the United Nations system. The desire of some States to play a more active role in the United Nations is quite natural. The Charter provides ample scope for this. In particular, the Charter permits the Security Council to establish auxiliary bodies in which many States would participate. We are convinced that the United Nations and other international organizations will play a growing role in regulating international relations.

In conclusion, I should like to address you, Mr. Secretary-General. Russia supports your efforts to bring about the settlement of international crises, to improve the efficiency of the United Nations Secretariat and the coordination of the activities of all international agencies.

Support of the United Nations presupposes the fulfilment of financial obligations to the Organization. Despite its economic difficulties, in the period from September of this year to March 1993 Russia will pay $130 million as partial payment of our arrears to the United Nations and an additional $30 million to other agencies.

Your recent statements in Moscow, Mr. Secretary-General, have confirmed the similarity of our vision of the great future of the United Nations.

Mr. VAN DEN BROEK (Netherlands): It is a great pleasure to see you, Sir, a youthful symbol of a profoundly changed Bulgaria, in the Chair. I know and trust that you will steer us skilfully through this session of the General Assembly.

(Mr. Van Den Broek, Netherlands)

The cold war is over. The world has heaved a sigh of relief. The United Nations now has an unprecedented opportunity to carry out the mandate contained in the Charter, even though politically the world has grown much more complex and complicated.

(Mr. Van Den Broek, Netherlands)

Of course, no change has occurred in the underlying problems of a long-term nature. The threat to the very survival of the human race posed by the deterioration of the environment, overpopulation and poverty was there already, even though awareness of the threat has increased quite dramatically in recent years. It is a threat that will be with us for years to come, and it will grow more and more acute if there is a lack of appropriate action. One course of action is for the United Nations to put its house in order in these areas through a restructuring of its economic and social sectors and through a meaningful follow-up to the Rio Summit. The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development has put sustainable development high on our agenda, and there it should remain. The establishment of solid machinery, including a high-level commission on sustainable development, will, we hope, be one of the major achievements of this session of the General Assembly.

But in the political field, on which I will concentrate today, there has been a qualitative change. We are still thankful for the end of the cold war, with its menace of massive nuclear destruction, but in its stead a plethora of conflicts and potential conflicts has sprung up with a vehemence which nobody had foreseen. Each of these conflicts has its own characteristics, and each has to be dealt with in a particular fashion. The United Nations is, on the whole, the right organization to deal with these emergencies, whether directly or indirectly. In order to carry out that task it will need to possess all the means necessary for what I would call a flexible response, ranging from preventive diplomacy to repressive action. A number of these requirements have been set out by the Secretary-General in his impressive report "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277). This Agenda will form the basis for our discussions on the subject.

(Mr. Van Den Broek, Netherlands)

Where and when should the United Nations intervene? Clearly, it cannot be everything to everyone. In order not to overstretch, it inevitably has to apply a certain degree of self-restraint. Moreover, the membership of our Organization consists of sovereign States, and respect for their sovereignty is one of its principles. Nevertheless, it would be too easy to make non-intervention and deference to domestic jurisdiction the leading guideline. Moreover, it would not work. Frontiers have become porous and information world-wide. Atrocities and aggression committed within a country cannot pass unnoticed, and once noticed will not be tolerated by world opinion. For the United Nations to stand idly by would be detrimental to its new-found status, which we all have an interest in protecting.

With the end of the cold war, regional conflicts have proliferated, but at the same time the possibility of doing something about them has increased. This is both because the Security Council is not paralyzed by vetoes any more and because the risk of a conflict's degenerating into global war has subsided. This makes it possible to contemplate international action where it would have been impossible or unfeasible before. With the possiblity of action comes the notion that lack of action is a form of action as well, requiring a decision, just as a decision is necessary to act. A decision not to act in the case of flagrant violations of human rights or the rights of minorities, or in the case of large-scale human suffering, will now set a precedent, just as planned intervention does. It is no longer possible just to look the other way.

Perhaps somewhat belatedly, this has been recognized in the case of Somalia. The international community could not afford to condone the

(Mr. Van Den Broek, Netherlands)

intolerable situation in that country any longer. The short-term task consists of assuring the survival of the people. In the somewhat longer term, the whole country will have to be reconstructed. The United Nations has a major role to play on both counts.

The United Nations has also become involved in former Yugoslavia. Here we see massive aggression, destruction, impending starvation and even the establishment of concentration camps, all with a view to making large areas "ethnically clean", as the ugly saying goes. Nationalism and irredentism have run wild and are threatening neighbouring States as well. Everyone knows who is mainly responsible.

Concerted action can and should be taken. Effective delegation and cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations is crucial. Joint United Nations-European Community efforts to help solve the Yugoslav crisis are a clear example. Interaction between the United Nations and the European Community, in their co-chairmanship of the London Conference, has underlined the potential for coordination between the United Nations and regional organizations in the field of preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping and peacemaking. It is not only Chapter VIII that is being put into practice here. Even more important is the linkage between the quest for a diplomatic solution on the one hand and the possibility of enforcement action by the United Nations on the other hand, in the event of non-compliance by the parties concerned. The recognition of territorial and ethnical faits accomplis would be an insult to the Charter. To my mind, the Yugoslav crisis is a compelling case for action. More could be done, and I hope that more will be done soon.

(Mr. Van Den Broek, Netherlands)

The Netherlands fully supports the Secretary-General's view that:

"regional arrangements or agencies in many cases possess a potential that should be utilized in serving... preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping, peacemaking and post-conflict peace-building". (A/47/277, para. 64)

Indeed, I am convinced that regional organizations increasingly have to take up responsibilities with regard to regional peace and security. The role of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in the Yugoslav crisis is a clear example of this trend. So are others, such as the Organization of American States and the Organization of African Unity.

The process of delegation and cooperation between the United Nations and the various regional organizations does not have to stop at this level. Organizations such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and the Western European Union have specific operational contributions to make as well. Both organizations recently announced at the CSCE Summit in Helsinki their decision to make resources available to support the CSCE or the United Nations in carrying out peace-keeping activities. The CSCE can also call on others, such as the Commonwealth of Independent States, to contribute to peace-keeping activities. This development is a concrete example of an evolving network of organizations which we refer to as 'interlocking institutions'.

The Security Council is rightly the focus of world attention nowadays. This new interest has provided the discussion on the Council's membership with a fresh impetus. In the last chapter of "An Agenda for Peace", the Secretary-General observes that agreement among the permanent members of the Security Council must have the deeper support of the other members of the Council. It should also have the wider support of the membership of the

(Mr. Van Den Broek, Netherlands)

Assembly if the Council's decisions are to be effective and are to endure. This raises the question of the relationship between members and non-members of the Council and of the Council's composition.

(Mr. Van Den Broek, Netherlands)

The achievements of the Council in terms of effective leadership and decision-making, particularly during the last two years, need not be elaborated upon. Supporters of the maintenance of its current composition can hence, with some justification, argue that there is no need to change a winning team, or, to use a colloquial expression of our host country, "If it ain't broke, don't fix it." The critics of the status quo argue that the Council's present composition is a reflection of the balance of power of days gone by. This leaves us with a dilemma because both sides have a point.

Important changes have taken place in international relations. The number of Member States has increased enormously since the enlargement of the Council in 1963. The Charter specifies in Article 24 that the Council acts on behalf of all Members. This implies that the Council should be, to a certain degree, representative of the international community. Were the Council to become an exclusive club disconnected from the United Nations membership as a whole, this might tend to undermine its authority and diminish its effectiveness. So what are we to do when faced with the question of the Council's effectiveness on the one hand and its representativeness on the other?

A possible solution to this question might be found in severing the automatic link between permanent membership of the Council and the right of veto. A number of concrete options can be considered in this respect. One would be to consider the adoption of a double veto: two negative votes by permanent members being required to hold up a decision instead of one. Another suggestion put forward is the creation of semi-permanent membership of the Security Council. This membership would apply to a certain category of important States for a period of, say, five to seven years, possibly without the right of veto.

(Mr. Van Den Broek, Netherlands)

To determine which countries would be eligible for this type of membership, it seems that two criteria are relevant: both the political weight of the country concerned and the degree to which its membership would contribute to a more equitable geographical distribution of the Council's composition. In view of the Council's responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, it would appear to me that those two elements should be carefully balanced against each other.

Clearly, the creation of semi-permanent membership is only one of a number of options that can be considered. A broad international discussion on this issue has already begun. The basis of this discussion should be in the agreement that any change envisaged should first and foremost seek to ensure the continued effectiveness of the Council for the United Nations as a whole.

In recent years we have seen some very encouraging developments all over the world in the field of human rights. Many nations have taken the difficult but promising road to democracy. Their success will undoubtedly contribute to a further spread of respect for fundamental human rights. It was our hope that the United Nations World Conference on Human Rights, to be held next year in Vienna, would contribute to this positive trend. The Netherlands welcomed the process from the start. We are, for instance, a major donor to the fund that allows delegations from the least privileged countries to participate.

However, the preparatory process has thus far failed to produce an agenda for the Conference. The Chairperson of the preparatory process rightly concluded that most States will be disappointed at the lack of results. The Netherlands shares this feeling of disappointment. Curiously enough, the results thus far have lagged behind the constructive and relatively harmonious results achieved in other United Nations forums such as the United Nations

(Mr. Van Den Broek, Netherlands)

Commission on Human Rights. The perfect example of this was the recent unanimity displayed by this Commission when it met for its first emergency session, which was devoted to the human rights situation in former Yugoslavia. In view of this sharp contrast, one cannot but wonder what causes the World Conference process to be so polarized and, subsequently, what positive contribution the Conference can make in these circumstances to the United Nations work in the field of human rights.

Meanwhile, human rights are still, in practice, being violated in numerous countries. I have already mentioned former Yugoslavia, where outrage at the massive violation of human rights and international humanitarian law in Bosnia-Herzegovina, confirmed by the report of the United Nations Special Rapporteur, Mr. Mazowiecki, has increased the calls for measures against the perpetrators of such acts. Personal accountability under international law and the appropriate machinery to deal with the individuals responsible are still lacking, but Security Council resolution 771 (1992) paves the way for follow-up action by Member States. My country favours the establishment of machinery for the systematic gathering of data concerning criminal acts committed by individuals with regard to the Geneva conventions and the human rights conventions. I believe that such an approach can be expected to have a deterrent effect.

For the longer term, Member States could consider the establishment of an international criminal court, taking into account work already undertaken by, among others, the United Nations International Law Commission. Although it is clear that the establishment of such a court will not come about overnight, it is certainly worthy of careful consideration by the Assembly. The Assembly might give the International Law Commission the task of developing this idea further.

(Mr. Van Den Broek, Netherlands)

The United Nations involvement in conflict settlement has led to a wide array of peace-keeping operations. The number of Blue-Beret military has reached an all-time record. The Netherlands contributes sizeably to United Nations operations worldwide and will continue to do so: taking into account other obligations and practical limitations, all units of the Netherlands armed forces can in principle be assigned for peace-keeping. We support the concept of making available contingents to the United Nations at short notice and have included this in our standing offer to the Organization.

The Preamble to the Charter clearly states the United Nations determination to promote social progress and better standards of living. Many countries are confronted with a lack of social stability, mass migration, rapid urbanization and other problems which affect the fabric of society. The world summit for social development, in principle to be held in 1995, will allow us to address these issues at the highest levels of government. This will help the United Nations to carry out the tasks inherent in its important social mandate.

The Security Council has rightly qualified the proliferation of all weapons of mass destruction as a threat to international peace and security. This underlines the importance of combating their proliferation. Arms control and regional, political and security arrangements have their role to play. So have export control regimes.

(Mr. Van Den Broek, Netherlands)

The Netherlands attaches particular value to the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms, and it is heartening to see before the Assembly the concrete elaboration of technical procedures for this Register, agreed to by consensus by a representative panel of governmental experts. The time has come to render the Register fully operational starting next spring, in 1993, and we look forward to a universal implementation of its provisions.

A convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons will be put before this session of the Assembly. It is a magnificent achievement for all the members of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament. My country hopes that many countries will be amongst the original signatories of the chemical weapons convention, so that it can be strictly implemented. The Netherlands, as host country for the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW), has a special role to play, and we shall endeavour to live up to expectations.

With the chemical weapons convention achieved, it becomes all the more important to reflect upon ways and means to strengthen the biological weapons Convention, in particular in matters of verification. Securing compliance with the Convention could involve more than just voluntary measures, important though these may be.

As to the third category of weapons of mass destruction, we have to bear in mind that the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) is up for extension in 1995. My country strongly advocates such an extension for an indefinite period. We welcome the progress made recently to strengthen the non-proliferation regime by both further accessions to the NPT and modifications of the Tlatelolco Treaty, opening the way for the entry into force of that Treaty for all Latin American and Caribbean States.

(Mr. Van Den Broek, Netherlands)

We are are placing ever-increasing demands upon the United Nations. Cambodia, Yugoslavia and Somalia are only a few examples of its increasing involvement. This is not without severe financial consequences for the Organization. Quite frankly, I find it hard to believe that, at a time when ue expect the United Nations to play its demanding role, an important number of Member States is not paying its contributions on time and in full. We believe it is essential for the proper functioning of the United Nations that all Member States, not just 5 per cent, meet the condition of full and timely payment. The United Nations will not be able to fulfil its task unless everyone picks up his share of the bill. Financial discipline on the part of Member States is as important as it is on the part of the Organization.

With regard to peace-keeping especially, if regional responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security is to acquire real meaning, we would strongly favour Member States looking at the concept of burden-sharing on a regional basis. In any case, the present short-term solutions of ad hoc financing are neither satisfactory nor equitable. If we want a healthy United Nations to deal with tomorrow's problems, this issue needs to be addressed today. It would be an illusion to think that the current stopgaps, creative as they may be, will eventually suffice.

As I have already stated, the opportunities for the United Nations to carry out its mandate are unprecedented. This is true for a number of conflicts which until recently seemed intractable. Cambodia is the clearest case where a United Nations peace plan is being implemented. Angola is another example of what the United Nations can do. The continuing dialogue by

(Mr. Van Den Broek, Netherlands)

South African parties provide us with a spark hope for the establishment of a non-racial democracy. There is an initial involvement on the part of the United Nations. Negotiations within the framework of the Madrid Conference have carried the Middle East peace process further after a long period of standstill. I hope that in this area, too, the United Nations can at some stage become closely involved.

My friend and colleague Douglas Hurd, speaking on behalf of the European Community and its member States, rightly observed that the challenge facing us in this turbulent time is to reinforce the system of collective security based on the United Nations. As I said earlierf, the United Nations cannot be everything to everybody. Nevertheless it is clear that, because of the success our Organization has achieved over the last few years, enormous expectations have been raised. It is our duty to see to it that the United Nations is equipped in terms both of personnel and financing to face the tasks with which it will of necessity be confronted.

That brings me, logically and finally, to the Secretary-General. It is a source of the greatest satisfaction to me to see Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali in this august position. His profound international experience, his keen intelligence and the determination which he has already shown in tackling a number of issues make him very much the right man in the right place.

I wish to assure Mr. Boutros-Ghali of the co-operation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in the discharge of his arduous task.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.